1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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F 361 Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type; the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

T 361

T [491] [312] The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

T 311 There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

T [491] [487] [493] [231]

T 243 312 Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

F T 132 The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being

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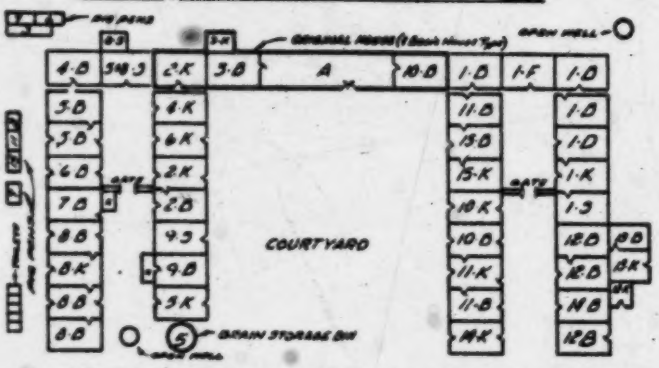

FIG. 1. Plan of the main house of the Huang *tsu*. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by whole *tsu*; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom; *F*, family room; *D*, dining room. The numbers 1 through 15 represent the fifteen Huang households which inhabit the Huang *tsu* main house. It will be noted that the rooms which make up the apartment of each household may be in different parts of the house. The house is built of brick and cement, with a tile roof. Only rooms 10-K, 10-B, 11-K, and 11-B have bamboo and mud walls.

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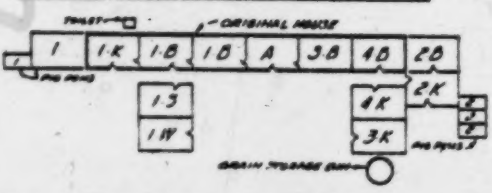

FIG. 2. Plan of the K'ang brothers' house. *1*, K'ang T'u; *2*, K'ang Ting-shan; *3*, K'ang Ting-shan's first son; *4*, K'ang Ting-shan's second son. *A*, ancestral worship room, used by all four households; *B*, bedroom; *K*, kitchen; *S*, storeroom, and *W*, water buffalo shelter. K'ang T'u and K'ang Ting-shan are brothers. A number of years ago they divided their family into two separate economic units; at the same time they divided ownership of their house. Recently K'ang Ting-shan and his sons divided their large family into separate economic units and also divided ownership of their half of the house. (See Chapter 5 for a discussion of family division.)

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Teacher Association) at the district primary school serving the children from Hsin Hsing and other nearby villages. Villagers also have

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According to the April 1957 official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

311 423 427 village farm families cultivated 61.74 *chia* (147.6 acres) of arable land as owners and/or tenants.[13] Of this total, 16.29 *chia* (38.9 acres) were still held by thirty-eight families as tenant land. The average amount of arable land cultivated per household was 0.68 *chia* (1.6 acres).[14]

Because of the limited amount of land available, most villagers who want to buy or rent land for cultivation cannot be too particular [493] about its location. They are usually willing to acquire any piece of land, so long as it is in the general area and can be conveniently reached by bicycle. Thus a villager's land usually consists of several tiny plots scattered throughout the surrounding countryside. On the average, the size of the separate plot is well under 0.3 *chia* (0.7 acres), which means that villagers must spend much of their time shuttling back and forth among their scattered small fields. If the fieldwork [492] demands only a few light tools, the trip by bicycle is fast enough, but if [401] it requires a water buffalo and heavy equipment like a plow, the trip from field to field takes a great deal of time. However, having the plots scattered this way can also be an advantage: all the land cultivated by [312] one villager is not necessarily dependent upon the same irrigation ditch or even perhaps the same irrigation network. Thus a shortage of water in one waterway need not effect all of a farmer's holdings.

311 423 427 628 Many of the fields cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers are almost two miles away, on the far side of the two neighboring villages Ta Yu and Yung P'ing. For example, in the Yung P'ing area where Hsin Hsing villagers rent or own much land, the fields are cultivated by farmers from at least three different villages. One field may be adjoined on three sides by fields owned or held by farmers from Ta Yu, Yung P'ing, or Hsin Hsing. This, of course, means these villagers will have some relationship with each other, especially if the fields are irrigated. (See Land Tenure Map, Chapter 4, for details.) The proximity of fields held by men from different villages is especially common in the area around Hsin Hsing, since the villages here are so close together that there is not very much open land between them. There are also a number of Hsin Hsing-owned wet fields beyond the two-mile range of the village, which are therefore not shown on the land map. In fact, a few villagers cultivate relatively large plots of dry land almost six miles from the village, since these crops do not usually need constant attention. In these cases the land is either tenant land still owned by public enterprises or is formerly land publicly or privately owned sold to the tenant under the Land Reform Acts of 1951–1952. The Hsin Hsing villagers originally rented these lands after the last war, when the competition for land was at its height.

423 428 [427] These fragmented and scattered landholdings result from several factors. The insufficiency of land caused villagers to buy or rent land wherever it was available. In addition, the system of inheritance of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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and are seldom fatal. Intestinal disorders and skin and eye infections and diseases are common and troublesome in the villages because of poor sanitary facilities and practices. These result, of course, from a general ignorance of the principles of sanitation and the causes of disease. Since the villagers know that these diseases are not usually fatal, they tend to avoid the expense and bother of consulting a doctor or going to a clinic, and the nonfatal illnesses often go untreated. Only the more educated villagers realize the importance of sanitation in preventing illness and are willing to take the trouble to maintain some semblance of sanitary practices.

The village water is commonly drawn from open wells. While the villager knows that drinking water is supposed to be boiled, he is usually satisfied if it comes close to the boiling point, or at best has just begun to boil. In visits to town he will frequently buy a drink from a street stand, and seldom consider whether the water used in the drink has been boiled. Intestinal illnesses are common, although the villagers frequently know enough to avoid serious difficulty.

Clothing is usually washed in the pond across the road which borders the village. The same pond is used by water buffalo for bathing and elimination, and the village storekeeper uses water from it to wash off ice before putting it in drinks or making a flavored shaved-ice refreshment. The village women wash their cooking and eating utensils in this same pond, and no one ever uses hot water and soap for these purposes.

Most villagers' houses are extremely cluttered and, in most cases, quite dirty. Major housecleaning and general cleaning of the village grounds are usually done only twice a year, immediately before the Chinese New Year and before the annual inspection of every house by police and public officials. This inspection was instituted by the Japanese, and has been continued by the local government under the mainlanders. Each house is examined for cleanliness and general neatness and receives a grade of excellent, pass, or fail. If a house fails the inspection, the family is liable to a fine and must remedy the condition.

The village has no running water. Water for household use is drawn from the open wells which are scattered around the village. Although open wells would seem to be a potential hazard for small children, few accidents occur, perhaps because young children are seldom allowed to crawl around on the ground and are usually in the care of an older child or an adult.

The only form of toilet facilities are outhouses, the small outside shelter with a hole in the floor formerly so common in rural America. The cleanliness of these facilities varies with the household. The contents are regularly collected and used to fertilize vegetable crops. This

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regularly go past by bus or bicycle. Itinerant merchants and artisans frequently stop in the village to sell their wares and services and are patronized by many villagers; some residents, however, go regularly to Lukang to shop. Villagers who supplement their farm income by peddling vegetables in season travel around the area, thus coming into contact with the people of nearby villages. Other outside contacts are made in Taipei by village people who go there to work and thus move regularly back and forth between city and village.

In addition to the economic factor which provides these extended intervillage relations and more outside contact in general, there are many other factors operative (some which we have already had an indication of and others which will be explored in later sections). Factors such as the expanded school attendance by villagers do much to bring young villagers into regular contact with students from other villages and even other areas, especially if the school is above the primary level. Contacts between the villagers and outside are also increased by the Farmers' Associations and the general expansion of the irrigation system, and, of course, the factor of social organization and the Chinese kinship system, which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal, is extremely important. As a result of this kinship system and its rules of marriage, as well as the villagers' preference for marrying nonrelatives from outside the village, there is an extension of kinship relationships beyond the village area. The matrilateral and affinal relationships furnish important social, economic, and sometimes political links between Hsin Hsing villagers and people in other villages. All these relationships have combined to extend the villager's orientation well beyond his own community. However, it is primarily the economic sphere that forms the basis for this newly emphasized orientation, and it is to this that we will first turn.

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apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

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Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

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ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

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the farmer who owns paddy land to grow rice. If the farmer substitutes vegetables or some other cash crop, he must nevertheless pay his land tax in rice and sell rice to the government at the official price as well. Therefore, in order to have the rice to sell to the government at the official price, the farmer who does not grow rice is forced to buy it on the market at a much higher price than he will get from the government.

IRRIGATION: ANOTHER EXTERNAL FORCE

The basic economy of the Hsin Hsing area is directly dependent upon the irrigation system. If the land did not receive water through this system, the present sizable agricultural production would not be possible and certainly could not support the large population in the area. The yearly rains usually come in one short season in late May, June, and July, and would be of little value if the water were not stored and channeled to the land at the proper time through elaborate irrigation works. The irrigation water is so important that it frequently causes social conflict between individuals and even between whole villages.

The Hsin Hsing area, and much of Taiwan, is served by two different types of irrigation systems. By far the most important is the public system, which is organized and operated by the Water Conservation Bureau through the Water Conservation Association. Under their administration water is distributed to the major portion of the land in the area. The second system is private and is administered by privately organized cooperative water-pumping associations. The pumping stations of these associations have recently extended the distribution of water to many formerly nonirrigated fields. The cooperatives build their own pumping stations, which draw water from rivers such as the drainage river behind Hsin Hsing, and then use private, and sometimes public, irrigation ditches to transport the water to the fields of its members. (See map 3, showing Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system.)

The Public Irrigation System

The public irrigation system is organized and operated under the direction of the government. The agency in control, the Water Conservation Bureau, is subordinate to the provincial government's Department of Civil Administration and under the official guidance of the Water Conservation Bureau is the Water Conservation Association, which is made up of a membership of the many farmers who use irrigation water. Theoretically, this association operates and controls the irrigation system, but actually, it is under the authority and direc-

[Text continues on p. 81.]

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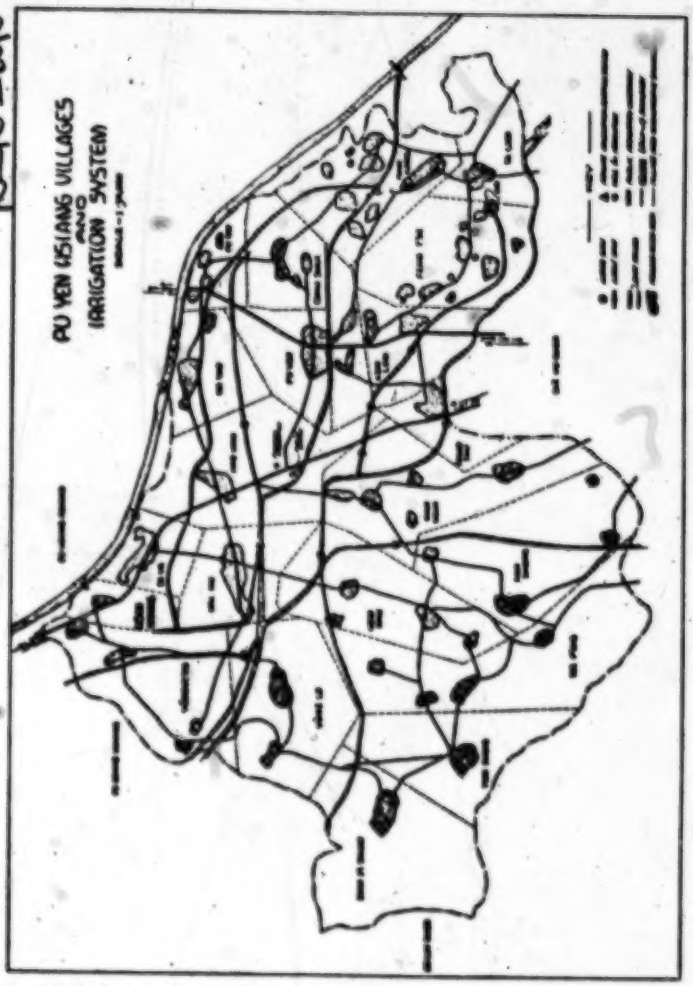

Map 3. Pu Yen Hsiang villages and irrigation system. Source: Pu Yen Water Conservation Working Office.

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tion of the government bureau. The association, like the Farmers' Association, is supposed to work for the benefit of its members.

The Hsin Hsing area is a member of the Chang-hua Water Conservation Association. The association is broken up into four district associations, which are further subdivided into smaller working units, each unit having its own area office. Every district association elects representatives which in turn elect an executive body to determine policy. Each working unit elects a man to be its "small water unit chief." It is the job of this individual to see that the distribution of the irrigation water goes smoothly in his area and to report any problems to the Water Conservation Association. These men, like the representatives and the members of the executive committee, receive no pay for their work. However, the association does employ a number of people in the various offices in each area who are responsible for the actual operation of the irrigation works.

In the Hsin Hsing area, the elected representatives and small water unit chiefs of the Water Conservation Association are all relatively wealthy men and for the most part belong to the landlord class. The villagers consider these people "local gentlemen" because "they work for the local area," and therefore the villagers like to vote for them. The economic position of these local gentlemen is secure, and they have enough education to be in a position to contribute to the local area and work for the benefit of the people. "If a man's family does not have enough to eat, how can that man contribute anything to the area?"

The farmer membership of the association pays the expenses for the operation of the irrigation system by the association. Although the money they pay is called "membership dues," the farmers refer to it and consider it to be a "water tax." The money goes to the Water Conservation Association and is used to pay the salaries of the hired workers and to maintain the irrigation system. Part of the money goes to the Water Conservation Bureau as a "kind of water rights tax, just as the bus company pays a tax for road rights."

The irrigation water supplied to the Hsin Hsing area is carried by many rivers from the interior mountain area of Taiwan. Once in the plains area, a series of dams on the rivers divert some of the water into long canals which run alongside the rivers. These canals then turn inland at a point just before the site of the next dam, so that the canals are not continuous. Along each of these canals is a series of smaller water gates, each of which feeds the water into narrower irrigation ditches which go off for long distances between the fields and become narrower as the water supply lessens. If the water level in the irrigation ditch is higher than the field surface, a small opening made in the ditch wall allows the water to flow into the fields. If, however,

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312 [406] If, however, the water level is low and/or the field surface high, the water must be pumped into the field with a foot treadle waterwheel, usually operated by one to three people at a time.

The irrigation water is fed into the many fields which receive it on a rotation system. The fields nearest to the water source receive the water earliest. Thus, when the first water gate in the irrigation canal is closed, the water is diverted into the irrigation ditches and flows into the adjacent area; the flow of water below this water gate is practically stopped. The water in these irrigation ditches is received first by the land closest to the water gate. In each small area the narrow irrigation ditch is blocked with an earth dam which diverts the water into the fields. When the fields are sufficiently flooded, the dam is opened and the water proceeds through the irrigation ditch to the next small dam, where it is again diverted into the fields. When all the fields in the area have been flooded, the first water gate on the canal is opened, and the water flows on through the canal until it reaches the next closed water gate, which again diverts it into the ditches and to the fields. So the rotation system continues down the line, with the land furthest from the water gates and irrigation ditches receiving the water last.

312 243 Under such a system, if there is a water shortage the areas nearest the water gates and dams have the best chance of receiving an adequate water supply. The farmers call this area the "water head." The area most distant from the water gates and dams is known as the "water tail." Farmers whose fields must wait until the last for water usually suffer from an insufficient water supply for their crops, especially for rice.

Even if there is not a water shortage, the farmers who cultivate fields in the water tail normally plant their rice later than the farmers in the water head, which creates a natural staggering of the planting and harvesting in the area. However, when there is a water shortage, it is often necessary, especially for the farmers in the water tail, to delay the transplanting of the rice seedlings and sometimes even to substitute another crop. Most of the land tilled by the Hsin Hsing villagers is in the water tail, and during the course of the research period it was common to see plowed fields waiting for weeks to be flooded or to see rice withering in the dry and cracking soil. As a result frequently the [483] [521] rice production of the area is disappointingly small, and the water problem is a constant concern of the villagers, even the young children. Water and the coming of water is often the main topic of conversation for weeks on end.

312 578 685 Sometimes the water problem becomes so grave that farmers may resort to "stealing water," secretly opening a water gate or an earthen dam in an irrigation ditch so that they can obtain their water out of

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turn and ahead of time. Frequently, when this or some other form of stealing water occurs, there is physical violence. Since a concentration of fields in a small area is likely to be cultivated by farmers from several villages, violence between individuals often causes animosity between villages.

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Sometimes when the water supply is short, it is very late in coming through the irrigation canals to the Hsin Hsing area because it is being held up at a gate in the water head area. If this creates an emergency, equipment is brought in to pump the water directly from the river into the canal and then into the ditches of the area. The operation of this pumping equipment is almost entirely paid for by the Water Conservation Association, but at the same time, part of the expense of maintaining the pumps must usually be borne by the farmers of that area.

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When a serious water shortage occurred in 1958, it was after many requests by the farmers of the area and through the efforts and influence of their small water unit chief, a rich landlord, that pumps were finally brought in. However, instead of the pumps being installed immediately, problems developed which delayed their use for several days. Those farmers who were mainly from one village with land in the water head declared that they would not participate in paying the extra costs of operating the pumps. This unusual noncooperative attitude was the result of bad *kan-ch'ing* between themselves and the farmers from other villages over the election of the small water unit chief.

The farmers with fields in the water head were receiving what little water was coming through the system. In addition, when the pumps brought in more water, these farmers felt free to continue to use the water since it ran through public ditches. Therefore, the farmers with fields toward the water tail decided that they too would refuse to pay for the pumping so long as the people in the water head were taking the water without paying for it. They also felt that by the time the water reached the water tail under the normal rotation system it would be too late to be of use. Therefore, they insisted that everyone, including the farmers of the water head area, share in the costs of pumping and also that the normal rotation order under which the water tail received the water last be changed. Since most of the water coming through the irrigation system would be pumped into it, they insisted that all the farmers draw lots to determine the order of rotation. Because the villages of the water head refused to participate in any such arrangement, the Water Conservation Bureau office and the local police were asked to settle the dispute. These officials agreed in this instance that the rotation order should be determined by drawing

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lots. However, the farmers of the water head area still refused to take part, and the Water Conservation Bureau and the police who had been requested to intervene then told the farmers to mediate the dispute themselves.

Dependence upon mediation as a primary solution to all disputes seems to be as common in rural Taiwan today as it has traditionally been. The reason for this is that rural people usually do not wish to become involved with the authorities and so seek to mediate most problems among themselves. The person who immediately takes a dispute to the authorities is considered unreasonable. If the problem is recognized as being severe, and it does become necessary to take it to the authorities, too often they—including the police, courts, and local civil officials—do not wish to become involved in local problems. Involvement costs them time and trouble and may mean making enemies. Therefore, wherever it is at all possible, the authorities insist that the disputants mediate their own problem.

However, in the mediation of disputes, one of the disputants not uncommonly has an advantage, simply because he is more powerful, that is, has more prestige, money, and influence. Although the idea of reasonableness of disputants' demands is inherent in the concept of mediation, such a powerful disputant is not likely to be particularly reasonable in his demands for settlement.

This was the case in the above mentioned irrigation problem. Obviously, in order to change the rotation order successfully, all farmers concerned had to be in unanimous agreement. However, the farmers in the water tail area could do little to force the issue, since the farmers in the water head area had nothing to gain by cooperation. Finally, as the situation became critical, the pumps were put into operation by the small water unit chief and his assistants in order to try to save the rice crops. The allocation of the excess expenses for operating the pumps was left for a later decision.

While for the most part the public irrigation system runs smoothly as long as there is enough water, there are occasions where a lack of cooperation upsets the operation of the system and the fair distribution of water to all. There have been a few occasions when several men from a large village in the water head area opened the dam on the river so that little water flowed into the canal and down to the water tail. They did it simply to make it easier to catch fish. This demonstration of complete lack of social responsibility toward their fellows was condemned by all the villagers whose fields were affected by the cutoff of the water supply. However, the villagers of the water head area, who were not affected, did not actively censure their fellows even though they did not condone the act. The apparent lack of concern for the welfare of people of another area is not unusual. In this case the

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police did intervene, but because of red tape the case dragged on, and had still not been settled by the time my field research was concluded in September, 1958.

Private and Cooperative Pumping Station Associations

In the Hsin Hsing area there is still much dry land to which the public irrigation system has not yet been extended. In the last six to seven years much of this dry land has been transformed into more productive wet land with the building of privately operated pumping stations. Sometimes such pumping stations are very small and are built by one or two people as an investment. However, they are more often built as cooperative ventures and use large pumps to irrigate relatively large areas.

A small private pumping station was built by a Hsin Hsing villager to irrigate the land immediately behind the village and the land which lies between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring village of Ta Yu. It irrigates about eight *chia* of land, most of which is owned and cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers, although about one *chia* of land is operated by people from Ta Yu village. When the owner found that the operation of the pumps was not profitable, he turned the station into a cooperative by selling shares to most of the farmers who had previously paid him for the water they used. In 1958 there were sixteen shares in the cooperative, each valued at about NT $1,200. This was calculated on the current price of rice; the capital of the cooperative is maintained in rice. This cooperative also sells water to non-shareholders with small fields in the area. The price for irrigating 0.1 *chia* of land per crop is one hundred *chin* of rice. Farmers who have very small portions of land in the area do not usually join the cooperative, preferring to buy the water when they need it.

Since it is a small one, this cooperative has no elected officers. One Hsin Hsing villager who is also a shareholder is hired by the cooperative to tend the pumps and see to the distribution of water to the members and purchasers. If a minor repair or decision must be made, this caretaker may take it upon himself to resolve it. However, if any major decision or large repair must be made, then a meeting of the shareholders is called, and the decision is made by general agreement.

A large cooperative pumping station operates in Ta Yu village and irrigates almost forty *chia* of land. The membership is large and the organization formal. Officers are elected and decisions are made at meetings by a vote of the membership. Two landlords who own large portions of the land irrigated by this cooperative are the elected leaders and exert considerable influence on all decisions which are made. It is to the advantage of the cooperative to have such wealthy men as their leaders, since they know many public officials in the Water Con-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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312 474 servation Bureau and Association and can therefore exert a great deal of influence if any problems should arise in dealing with these agencies.

[653] The farmers who receive water from private irrigation systems must also be members of the area Water Conservation Association, and therefore pay for the use of the water which is considered public. Water is usually distributed among members of the pumping station cooperatives on the basis of rotation, the order of which is determined by drawing lots. The land of some farmers served by the pumping station was formerly nonirrigated, so these men had to dig their own irrigation ditches. However, some members of the cooperative also cultivate paddy land which is in the water tail area of the public irrigation system. In these cases, when the farmers joined the cooperative, the public irrigation ditches were frequently used to carry the privately pumped water to their land, usually at times when there was no public irrigation water coming through the ditch. The use of these 312 474 public irrigation ditches for the water pumped by the cooperative is 578 sometimes responsible for disputes and even violence, as will be seen in the case of a Hsin Hsing farmer who was not a member of the large cooperative. Li Fan took water for his field from the public ditch. Two members of the cooperative accused him of stealing the cooperative's water, claiming that there was little public water coming through at the time, and beat him severely. This incident caused controversy and antagonism between Hsin Hsing and Ta Yu, the village in which most [627] of the members of the cooperative lived. When mediation yielded no [692] solution to the conflict, the villagers finally resorted to the courts. (This case is described in detail in Chapter 6.)

241 The building of these pumping station cooperatives has greatly in-312 creased agricultural production for the lands they serve. Much of the land they irrigate was formerly dry land producing only such crops as 474 sweet potatoes, special broom grasses, cucumbers, and peanuts. Today, 433 these same lands are good rice producers. In addition, the lands benefiting from the private irrigation systems can usually receive water earlier than the surrounding water tail land which gets water from the public irrigation system. Consequently, while the water tail land frequently receives too little water too late, the land privately irrigated by the pumping stations usually receives ample water much earlier. This means that farmers benefiting from the private irrigation systems rarely have any difficulty in planting and harvesting according to the dates specified by the agricultural calendar.

312 Thus, the expansion of the irrigation network, both public and 571 private, has required villagers to involve themselves with people and 628 government in places where they previously had few, if any, relations. Irrigation networks cross village and even area boundaries. Although

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fields: the economic, the social and religious, and the mediatorial and political. The relationship between *ch'in ch'i* depends upon propinquity; ideally, *ch'in ch'i* live close enough so that contact with each other is not a hardship, and yet preferably not so close as in the same village. Most marriages and adoptions usually involve persons within an area which can be readily spanned by bicycle. Another factor is *kan-ch'ing* with one's *ch'in ch'i*. Here it should be noted that the *ch'in ch'i* relationship in itself is ordinarily the best basis for good relations. The continuance of good relations is probably aided by the maintenance of social distance or, in other words, a lack of the overintimacy which so often causes ill-feeling between *tsu* relatives. As already indicated, it is perhaps for this reason that ties established by marriage within the village often become more similar to those of *ch'in tsu* than of *ch'in ch'i*. This in itself reinforces a preference for marriage outside the village. Good *kan-ch'ing* is also maintained as a result of a determined effort on the part of *ch'in ch'i*. *Ch'in ch'i* are almost always ready to help each other in times of any kind of need.

The very fact that one's *ch'in ch'i* usually do not live in the same village, although in the same general area, is of major significance economically. In a wet-rice growing area, where paddy fields must be flooded several times during the course of the growing of each rice crop, irrigation is very important. Because of the nature of the irrigation systems, two adjacent villages, although geographically very close, may be weeks apart in their agricultural cycles if they obtain their water from two different irrigation systems. For example, one village may be at the end of one irrigation system, while the next village down the road may be at the beginning of another irrigation system. At the time the village on the beginning of the irrigation system has already transplanted its rice seedlings into the flooded rice paddy fields, and is perhaps already preparing for the first weeding, the neighboring village on the other end may still be waiting for the water to come through so that the fields may be flooded and prepared for transplanting the rice seedlings. Although not all of one's fellow villagers have land in the same immediate area or within the same irrigation system, it is nevertheless unlikely that many cycle differences will be greater than a few days for most of one's fellow villagers. Therefore, the greater difference in agricultural cycle between *ch'in ch'i* living in different areas makes possible an amount of economic interchange usually not possible between fellow villagers.

The outright gift or sale at a comparatively low price of rice seedlings by one *ch'in ch'i* to another living in some other area has direct bearing on the cyclical differences resulting from differences in irrigation systems. A Hsin Hsing villager on the end of the irrigation system who loses his rice seedlings in the seedbed as a result of insufficient

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tau* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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alized in the Chinese social organization like *tsu* relationships, still it is noteworthy that in a village like Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area matrilateral and affinal-based relationships, that is, with *ch'in ch'i*, are much more functionally important than previously indicated in the literature.

This is not to underrate the importance of patrilineal or *tsu* relationships. Where these exist, they are unquestionably the most important, the most relied upon, and the most meaningful relationships. My intention has been to point out the possible extent and importance of the heretofore unrecorded *ch'in ch'i* relationships. By their very nature *ch'in ch'i* relationships, unlike *ch'in tsu*, are seldom carried beyond two or possibly three generations. However, during the period when recognition is still attached to such relationships, they may be of great importance and value to their reciprocal members.

The widespread and important *ch'in ch'i* relationships of Hsin Hsing villagers throughout the area greatly affect village life. The value attached to *ch'in ch'i* relationships extends the villagers' interests beyond their own village, gives them contacts with people beyond their own boundaries, and furthers their opportunities for new experiences.

Dual loyalties may arise with regard to one's own village and one's *ch'in ch'i*. While a villager can almost always be relied upon to give his primary support to his *ch'in tsu* relatives in any conflict with a fellow villager or even with a *ch'in ch'i*, such support is not necessarily extended to a non-kin person with whom he only has an ordinary village tie. Therefore, especially in any situation of conflict between one's own villager and a *ch'in ch'i* in another village, the villager is beset with a conflict of loyalties. Caught in such a dilemma, the villager frequently does nothing openly rather than take a position and antagonize either side. Even if a situation of this kind occurs only occasionally, it tends to reinforce the villagers' belief that in case of trouble they cannot fully rely upon aid from their village alone.

While carrying on field work in Hsin Hsing, I observed a case which serves as a good example to point up several things which have been discussed—the importance and some of the effects of *ch'in ch'i* relationships, the problem of irrigation as a source of social conflict, the lack of strong village leadership and organization in a multi-*tsu* village such as Hsin Hsing, and how these reinforce the villagers' estimation of the limited sources of available support to the individual family.

THE LI FAN INCIDENT: A CASE STUDY

Early in the spring of 1958 a Hsin Hsing villager and his elderly father were severely beaten in their fields by two men from the neigh-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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boring village of Ta Yu. The reason for this was that Li Fan, the Hsin Hsing man, had taken water from a public irrigation ditch which was at the time considered to be carrying privately owned rather than public water. The men from Ta Yu claimed that the water which Li Fan had taken was from the cooperative pumping station of which he was not a member. As they were beating him senseless with a metal hoe, his father tried to come to his aid and was also beaten.

The cooperative station, which pumps water from a nearby river, is located in the larger and wealthier neighboring village of Ta Yu. Most of its members are from Ta Yu village, although there are several members from other nearby villages, including a few from Hsin Hsing. Because the great majority of the pumping station members are Ta Yu villagers, these members have the controlling hand. Members from other villages have little if any voice in the making of cooperative policy. The cooperative's large size caused the Ta Yu members to feel that they had little to fear from outsiders. Apparently, the cooperative had unofficially agreed that any outsider caught taking the cooperative's water should be beaten as an example to others and that the association would fully back whoever did the beating in case any trouble should ensue. Before the beating of Li Fan and his father several other such incidents had gone unchallenged.

When Li Fan and his father were carried back from the fields, word quickly spread through Hsin Hsing village. The villagers were at once incensed and felt that those responsible for the brutality should be punished. The police were notified at once, and a doctor was called to treat the men's severe wounds. But until the doctor or police arrived, I was called in to administer first aid—mainly to stop the bleeding—and also to photograph Li Fan in his beaten condition.

The two police officers who soon came on their bicycles from the local police station were also angry at this new violence and recorded the stories of the two victims and the witnesses. Later, however, when an attempt was made to arrest the two Ta Yu villagers, they insisted that they had not started the fight, had only fought back in self-defense, and in fact had themselves been beaten by Li Fan and his father. This, under the law, meant that the accused would not necessarily be held by the police, especially since a wealthy and influential man in the area who was a friend of the Ta Yu pumping station cooperative had acted as guarantor for the two men. The men were therefore released and immediately pressed counter charges against Li and his father with the greatest haste and efficiency. The wealthy Ta Yu landlord and other leaders who were important persons in the cooperative as well as influential in the area and the local office of the government district knew how to handle such matters. And although the policemen themselves saw that the two Ta Ya men were not hurt in the fight, the two men were nevertheless able to purchase false

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knew she would eventually go blind, "by that time my children will be grown and able to take care of me." In the interim she would not take the time nor spend the money to obtain treatment.

There are several reasons for the high rate of intestinal and parasitic diseases. Although the villagers are aware that water should be boiled before drinking, they actually merely heat it. At the same time they court danger by buying drinks from sidewalk vendors in town. Facilities for washing dishes and other utensils are limited; much of it is done in the nearby pond which serves as the laundry and a bathing place for buffalo as well. Intestinal diseases are also caused by eating raw vegetables which were fertilized with human excrement.

These disorders common in the village do not usually cause alarm. When a familiar illness strikes, the patient may be given some patent or herbal medicine and the illness allowed to run its course. Childhood diseases are common and produce little anxiety. However, there is a fear of diseases whose origin is poorly understood, which produce curious symptoms, and for which no cures are known. When one of these illnesses strikes, a Western-style doctor is called in to administer penicillin or some other drug. The general feeling is that Western medicines, if they are appropriate for the illness, effect fast cures. While many villagers insist that Chinese medicines are just as effective if not more so in the long run, in that they produce a more permanent cure, they readily admit that Chinese medicines are slower to work than Western ones. If the Western medicines fail to help and the patient does not seem to recover quickly enough, or if the illness is very unusual, the villagers conclude that the disorder is caused by some supernatural agent and must be dealt with by magical means. (A detailed discussion of supernatural explanations for illness and the remedies used to cure them is found in Chapter 8.) Most of the diseases prevalent locally are not fatal, and old age seems to be the main cause of death in the Hsin Hsing area.

DEATH, BURIAL, AND MOURNING

The villagers' attitude toward the rituals and ceremonials associated with death vary for the most part with the age and status of the deceased and the economic condition of the family. An old person is almost always given an elaborate, very expensive funeral which entails lengthy mourning rituals. This is also true for a younger adult who leaves children and therefore has status in the community. Young people and children are given a rather simple funeral unless the family is financially well-off. A funeral ceremony is very rarely held for an infant or child under a year old.

The villagers believe that the individual has three spirits. At death

independent units. Rather than a great extended family living under one authority and one roof, what one typically finds in a large compound is a number of related but independent households. They will usually share the use of the kōng-thia̍:, the yard between the two wings of the house, the well if there is one, and the toilet, but each family will have its own bedroom and its own stove, even if this requires the building of two stoves in one kitchen.

The stages in the evolution of a house from a small one-family structure to a large complex compound are clearly marked in the use and care of the kōng-thia̍:. When a house is new and inhabited by a single ke̍, the kōng-thia̍: will be always the best kept room in the building. The interior walls will be freshly white-washed; the floors will have been swept daily; and the furniture will be as expensive as the family can possibly afford. After the sons of the original family divide their parental ke̍, the kōng-thia̍: and its furniture will begin to deteriorate, for their wives will be unwilling to devote their time or money to what they regard as "public property." So long as their mother is still alive, however, the room will never be in marked disrepair. What work she cannot do herself, she will badger her daughters-in-law into doing. The real decline of the kōng-thia̍: begins when she and her husband die. There is then no one among the residents of the house who has a responsibility towards the settlement as a whole, and as a result no one is willing to give up the time or money to the upkeep of the kōng-thia̍:. As one of the most accurate of Chinese proverbs states, "What is public is for everyone's use and is no one's responsibility." The inevitable result is that the kōng-thia̍: and its

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Moreover, efficient transportation brought some light industry to Tapu itself. Instead of working with their fathers on the land as they had for centuries, young men began going to the factories. The wages they brought home often made the difference between having just enough to eat and having plenty to eat. Few farmers sold their land or gave up farming, but by 1960, nearly every family had at least one member working outside the village for a cash income to supplement the seasonal income from the land.

During the period in which they were building the railroad, the Japanese also built a large network of irrigation canals in the Taipei basin, easing greatly the burden of Peihotien's farmers. An irrigation dam built across the river a mile or so upstream from the village lowered the frequency of flooding in the village and ended completely the economic usefulness of the river. Large boats can no longer go freely up and down the stream, and fishing has disintegrated to a sport enjoyed by village boys. The only economic value the river now has for villagers is in the employment of a few of the more destitute women. Building contractors hire them on a piece-work basis to gather stones of a particular size for making concrete. The work is hot, heavy, and miserably paid, but it is vital to several village families during the seasons when the women can find no work weeding fields or cleaning vegetables for market.

Nowadays the river is considered at best a convenient supply of water and at worst a threat, be it real or imagined. Every morning a dozen or so women come down to the river's edge to do their laundry and gossip, and in the evening the village water buffalo are allowed a leisurely soak in the shallow water. For the greater part of the day the beach is deserted. An occasional handful of children venture down to play in the sand, but for most of them the river area is forbidden. During the hot days of summer, busy mothers are hard put to keep their children from wading and by the time they are through primary school, most boys have learned to swim by one stratagem or another. Parental fears are not unjustified. Besides the many drownings that resulted from capsized ferries in the old days, there have been several swimmers lost in more recent years. To the villagers these past drownings add immensely to the realistic dangers of the river since it is believed that the souls of those who drown must remain in the water as unhappy ghosts until they pull in another victim to take their place.

A man in his forties described the ways of ghosts in telling me

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because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

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corner with a dozen or more table tops, stored there until needed in the guest hall for big feasts. Off the dining room, in the side wing of the house, is another sleeping room. This room is occupied most of the time by Lim A-pou's unmarried son, but he usually has to share the *tatami* sleeping platform with visiting children, male relatives, and whatever hired hands happen to be living in the house. Beyond this room is the busiest room in the house, the kitchen. Except on the coldest or stormiest days, the door between the kitchen and the small internal courtyard is kept open for light and ventilation. Most of the floor space is taken up by the huge brick cooking stove which boasts two, rather than the usual single, shallow cooking pans. One corner is filled with a heap of long paper strips, residue from Lim Chieng-cua's cement bag factory. The paper is twisted into hanks and fed into the stove by the women as they cook, by children when they can be caught, and, on cold days, by the men, if they have time to lounge before the evening meal. The walls are dark and dirty with accumulations of smoke and grease. Baskets, rice cake molds, tea kettles, and various other cooking utensils hang at random from pegs. Two closed cupboards hold dishes, rice bowls, cups, chopsticks, and bits of food that need protection from the animals that wander into the house. The kitchen has a convenience that is the envy of every woman in the village and that was a source of considerable misgiving to me. The well and the open cistern into which the water is pumped are located in the kitchen itself. My uneasiness arose from the fact that the next room contained, besides another small stove for the preparation of pig food, the Japanese style toilet. What we euphemistically refer to as "night-soil" is stored until needed for the fields, or until the pit is full, not ten feet from the water supply.

I was never sure just how the wing across the back of the house had been used formerly, but it may have been the original location of the cement bag factory. When we arrived, part of it was used for storage and part of it was taken up with the small bathing room. The storage room was cleared for us to use as a dining room and a sleeping room for our cook and our interpreter. Our long-suffering cook acquisitioned an alcove in the hallway to the bathing room for her coal oil stove. The rest of the back wing was occupied by another family of renters during the first part of our stay, but when they left we took over this space to house our expanding staff and to provide ourselves with a much needed testing room.

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daughters, similar to the Western form of adoption; others are adopted, usually by the wealthy, for their labor. Sometimes the small slave girls fall into the hands of frustrated women who vent on them the aggression they dare not express toward their husbands and parents-in-law. Even the girls adopted to be wives of the family's sons are never accorded the treatment of daughters born into the family. One of the most effective threats mothers make to recalcitrant children is to threaten them with adoption. In describing a sobbing, woebegone child, people often say, "Oh, there she is, crying like an adopted daughter." One might expect a fair number of adopted daughters to hate their foster parents and to regard the holidays requiring a visit to their natal homes as oases in the desert of their everyday existence. This is not the case at all. Their resentment is directed at the natal parents who sent them into this hard life, and they cling with something akin to panic to the foster parents who treat them so coldly. This is not the place to go into the psychological implications of these attitudes but that they exist was brought home to me again and again in interviews with adopted daughters, their bewildered parents, and their foster parents.

Lim Han-ci comes closer to the Western stereotype of the Chinese patriarch than do the heads of most Taiwanese families. Most fathers in Peihotien administer an occasional lecture or a formal beating, but the mothers do most of the disciplining, teaching, and directing of the children's daily lives. Lim Han-ci, if one can believe the stories of his neighbors and children, was far more active in the training and control of his family. His treatment of his children is the subject of many of the village anecdotes about his life. Lim Han-ci demanded of his children the same hard work he demanded of himself; he made no allowances for high spirits or play; and he was considered strict in a community where children are punished severely and often cruelly. Lim Chieng-cua admitted that his father had once in a moment of anger beaten him and his older brother with the heavy wooden handle of a hoe, covering them with bruises that stayed for weeks. His father's more formal punishments included taking the misbehaving child down to the river and dunking him several times.

Lim Han-ci's reputation caused as much, if not more, terror to the other village children. An historian who grew up in Peihotien said he often walked half a mile out of his way to get to school without passing a field in which he had seen Lim Han-ci working. The bunds

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that enclose each small paddy field and keep the water on the growing plants were (and still are) a constant source of dissension between farmers and children. In some places pathways serve as natural bunds, but in others they are painstakingly built up with earth. Being only a foot and a half to two feet wide, they are delicate; a bit broken off an edge might easily begin an erosion that in a night could empty a field of its precious water. Imagine a vast network of bunds and a child in a hurry. Lim Han-ci prided himself on keeping his bunds squarer and freer from weeds than any other farmer in the area, and woe unto the child who trespassed. A child who made use of one of Lim Han-ci's bunds without being caught would nonetheless run from him for weeks afterwards. Laughing at his own youthful terror, Lim Chieng-cua told me he once saw his father cut down a piece of bamboo to repair a fence but was so convinced that he was to be beaten with it that he hid for hours in a deserted field shed.

After hearing these and many more tales of Lim Han-ci's severity and the uncompromising demands he made of his impoverished family, it was difficult for me to understand the genuine affection with which Lim Chieng-cua and the other members of the family spoke of him. Perhaps adulthood brought them a greater understanding of the things he was trying to do for them and to teach them; perhaps too their fear of him was tempered by pity when he received what must have been the greatest blow of his life. At nineteen, Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest and therefore the favored son, revolted against the unyielding discipline of his father and left the family home. Lim Han-ci was not a man to be broken by this—even to the day of his death the children who remained behind were afraid to cross him—but he learned to soften his commands and to allow for needs he himself did not feel. As his neighbors say, "Something was missing after that."

When Lim Han-ci was dying, the family took an unusual step for villagers. At that time the countryside had few doctors. To be sure the old man had the best treatment available, his children took him to a hospital in Taipei. "But," Lim Chieng-cua told me, "he found out how much it cost and refused to stay there. We were all so afraid of him that we couldn't do anything other than bring him home again. We had a doctor fetched to Peihotien every day in a cab and each time warned him not to let my father know he came all the way from Taipei in a taxi. We spent a fortune in that last month, but he worked hard for us all his life."

423 owners participated because of a fear the improved land
[651] would be given a higher grade resulting in increased taxes. Although reassessment has still not occurred, non-participants keep saying it soon will.

Irrigation

132 Rainfall in northern Taiwan is reasonably adequate
133 every month of the year. There are small mountains running parallel to the village on each side with a small
312 stream down the middle. The mountains produce a considerable water run-off which is channeled to the paddy fields where needed. Only about once every seven or eight years is there a serious shortage of water but there are slight shortages yearly in June and July. There are no water irrigation associations because there is so much surplus water and so many places that it can be tapped, that the small short channels are maintained informally by farmers in the few fields using each source. Only once in fifteen months did we observe a conflict over water levels in spite of these extremely informal arrangements. However, children get in trouble when they play in the fields and break down the barriers and let water fall below requisite levels.

Rice

243 Paddy fields are considered to be the most valuable
311 kind of agricultural land. From the earliest inception of

361 it but, near the center of the village, turns and runs
[296] down the village slope. At the turn-about spot, a con-
crete pond (five feet by ten feet by eight inches) was
[312] built for convenience in washing clothes. From the pond
on down the slope, village houses could pipe water into
their houses by gravity feed from the brook by means of
rubber hoses, but from the pond up the slope, it was
necessary to carry water in buckets. This activity gives
a name to two sections of the village: shang shui (above
the water) and sya shui (below the water) although the
dividing line is not clear. The smallest and least
significant neighborhood unit is separated from these two
neighborhoods by the river which runs down the middle of
the valley (See Figure 2).

361 The "above the water" section contains the original
621 village settlement and continues to be the dominant section
in village affairs. Most of its shia chang (family heads)
are surnamed Liao and three of the four not surnamed Liao
are related to a Liao: two are related by marriage and the
third is the step-brother diagrammed in Figure 8. Impor-
tant individuals in this section include the Li Chang
(mayor), representative to the farmers' association, and
the Small Unit Head (local subunit of the farmers'
association). This section also includes the village
temple and the store which has the largest sales in the
village and which is owned by one of the wealthier Liao
families whose head is an informal leader and a member of